The role of languages in policies
for the integration of adult migrants

Concept Paper prepared for the Seminar
The Linguistic integration of adult migrants
Strasbourg, 26-27 June 2008

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Contents

Executive summary

This document is intended to provide states with assistance in finding solutions to language problems faced by adult migrants – problems that cut across all aspects of reception and integration policies (status, employment, health, housing etc).

[1] The diversity of languages spoken by migrants is one aspect of the multilingual and multicultural nature of contemporary European societies. It requires host countries to take measures to help train migrants, who themselves are extremely heterogeneous.

[2] These issues must be dealt with as a whole, in keeping with Council of Europe values and based on existing Council of Europe instruments. Language training for migrants forms part of a plurilingual education. It ought to be open and diverse, tailored to the various forms and stages of migration, and should therefore preclude a uniform approach.

[3] This training should be organised using methods of language course design that guarantee the quality of teaching and its relation to social and occupational needs, as well as the fairness and transparency of tests (where they are required). Offering targeted courses (geared to language profiles rather than just a level) delivered by properly trained staff may help to put in perspective the question of incentives and requirements to attend these courses if they are seen as particularly useful by the people for whom they are intended.

Assessment of skills acquired should be regarded as part of the training, and tests should not be turned into a tool for excluding adult migrants as such tests are entirely unable to guarantee eventual social integration.

[4] The school system has the task of educating all learners in intercultural dialogue and linguistic goodwill, while it is the function of courses for adult migrants also to encourage transmission of languages of origin between generations.

[5] Lastly, the language proficiency and the knowledge of the host society needed by adult migrants to become involved and responsible social players should be designed to promote social cohesion in the long run, since the obtaining of legal citizenship[1] is just a further stage in an integration process that will continue. The process should continue to be supported, in particular by combating any forms of exclusion to which the new citizens may be subject. Language policy must therefore be coupled with a policy on naturalisation, which would mean, amongst other things, adopting a clear position on the question of dual nationality.

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[1] Naturalisation is viewed as a legal act whereas active *citizenship* is seen as a social process. It is possible to play an active part in the life of a community without being naturalised, and vice versa.

Introduction

Migration is always of benefit to both the migrants themselves and the countries receiving them[2], but this view of migration is not necessarily shared by public opinion, as evidenced, for example, in the anxiety shown by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe regarding the way in which migrants and ethnic minorities are portrayed in the media[3]. J. Salt has had to point out that "there is an acceptance that migration is generally a positive phenomenon and that the prime purpose of management is to ensure an all-round positive outcome"[4].

This anxiety nowadays is perhaps less due to their economic impact: "foreign " migrants are no longer automatically thought to be taking jobs away from native workers[5], since relocation of companies inside and outside Europe has now been identified, in some strands of public opinion, as the cause of unemployment or of the challenge to accepted social benefits. Migration is increasingly seen as a "threat" to national identity, often because of the diversity of origins and the concentrations of immigrant communities in some urban areas: it is thought to challenge the national culture, religion, accepted social attitudes etc. In this respect, languages play an important role since they are markers of belonging, both for the migrants and for the host societies.

In this document, the term *migrant* will be used to refer to any person involved in a migration process, whatever its nature or stage (arrival, settlement, initial stay, long-term residence, permanent settlement, application for naturalisation and access to citizenship, return of parents or children to country of origin etc). We shall use the more specific terms of *new immigrant* for a migrant who is in the initial stages of the process (arrival) and *immigrant* or *resident migrant* for a migrant who has been settled for a long time and who is able to, or has already, become a citizen of the host country (through naturalisation). These refinements of vocabulary reflect the complex and increasingly dynamic nature of population movements within the European area and underline the diversity of these movements, which are no longer simply from one set place to another.

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[2] Report presented by the Secretary General of the United Nations, 6 June 2006.
[3] Recommendation 1277 (1995) and Report to the Parliamentary Assembly: *The image of asylum-seekers, migrants and refugees in the media*, Doc. 11011 of 10 July 2006.
[4] Salt J.: *Current trends in international migration in Europe*, Council of Europe, CDMG (2005) 2 p.41.
[5] Punch A. & Pearce D. (dir.) (2000) : *Europe's population and labour market beyond 2000* – Volume 1, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg. See 3.6: Impact of migratory flows in the labour market, page 94 et seq.

1. Language and migration

1.1 Council of Europe activities

In view of the priorities laid down in the Declaration and Action Plan of the Third Summit of the Council of Europe in Warsaw, the Parliamentary Assembly intends to focus its activities in the field of migration on, amongst other things, "promoting intercultural dialogue, fostering tolerance and ensuring the integration of immigrant communities in their host societies" (Resolution 1511 (2006), § 4.2)

It is the Council of Europe's intention to provide member states with assistance in finding solutions to the related language problems, which cut across all aspects of reception and integration policies for new immigrants (status, employment, health, housing etc) but which are by no means secondary.

More specifically, the Council of Europe wishes to make available to its member states existing expertise and good practice for facilitating implementation of human rights standards such as paragraphs 11 and 12 of Article 19 of the *European Social Charter (revised)* (3.5.1996):

> **Article 19 – The right of migrant workers and their families to protection and assistance**
>
> With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right of migrant workers and their families to protection and assistance in the territory of any other Party, the Parties undertake:

[...]

11. to promote and facilitate the teaching of the national language of the receiving state or, if there are several, one of these languages, to migrant workers and members of their families;

12. to promote and facilitate, as far as practicable, the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker.

As pointed out in the *Explanatory Report* to the Social Charter, these two paragraphs were added to the new version because they were considered important "for the protection of migrant workers' health and safety at work and for the guarantee of their rights in other respects relating to work, as well as in facilitating their integration and that of their families" (§ 11) and because of "the importance for the children of migrant workers of maintaining their cultural and linguistic heritage, *inter alia*, in order to provide them with a possibility of reintegration if and when the migrant worker returns home" (§ 12). They stress the transversality of language issues and reaffirm the host societies' responsibility for introducing plurilingual education, which is not centred solely on acquisition of the host society's language.

It may be found useful to consult the compilation of extracts from Council of Europe conventions and recommendations/resolutions by its Committee of Ministers and Parliamentary Assembly on migrants and education[6].

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[6] Integration of adult migrants and Education: Extracts from Council of Europe Conventions and Recommendations and Resolutions of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers. Document DG4/EDU/LANG (2008) 4. Available online on the Language Policy Division website www.coe.int/lang

As part of the work of the Language Policy Division, the Council of Europe has set about raising awareness among policy-makers concerned with general or specific aspects of language issues concerning adult migrants by means of:

- this document;

- a survey of provisions relating to adult migrants and languages in member states, in cooperation with the European Committee on Migration (CDMG)[7];

- policy documents for the policy-makers concerned[8], and case studies;

- a seminar on *Linguistic integration of adult migrants*, to be organised at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on 26 and 27 June 2008 by the Language Policy Division and the Migration Division.

The purpose is to offer a technical framework that provides guidance to member states on developing and implementing their language policies for integrating adult migrants.

1.2 Other international initiatives

- **European Union**

EU measures and initiatives relating to migration are covered by a number of Commission communications available online[9]; the Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration (COM (2007) 512) was published in 2007, and a Green Paper on education and migration is due in 2008.

- **OECD** (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)

A Group of National Experts on the Education of Migrants, set up under the auspices of the Education Policy Committee (Directorate for Education), met in January 2008 to launch a new initiative. The objective is an OECD thematic review on migrant education, with particular reference to school-age children. The process will extend over two years.

This thematic review[10] is part of the output results on education and diversity included in the 2007-2008 Programme of Work of the Education Policy Committee. Its conclusions will, where appropriate, be included in the discussion on migration planned for the 2009 Ministerial Council Meeting.

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[7] The Council of Europe body working with governments to develop common policies on the challenges of migration and the human rights of migrants

[8] In particular: *Quality assurance in the provision of language education and training for adult migrants – Guidelines and options* (R. Rossner), *The 'Common European Framework of Reference for Languages' and the development of policies for the integration of adult migrants* (D. Little) and *Language tests for social cohesion and citizenship – an outline for policymakers* (ALTE Authoring Group)

[9] Eg http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/immigration/integration/fsj_immigration_integration_en.htm

[10] Dedicated section: http://www.oecd.org/document/19/0,3343,en_2649_33723_39905171_1_1_1_1,00.html

2. The linguistic plurality of European societies and migration

The basic fact to be taken into account in developing any integration policies on languages and adult migrants – whether the latter are new arrivals or settled and resident – is the multiplicity of new immigrants' linguistic experience and of the circumstances of their reception. It follows that there cannot be a single standard solution for organising their linguistic and cultural education in a/the language of the host country – whatever the form or objectives of that education might be – or for developing tests, defining the proficiency required in the host society's national language(s) etc.

The multiplicity of adult migrants' skills, linguistic experience and needs is matched only by the plurality of European societies themselves, reflected in the diversity of languages and types of communication, communities and social groups, religious and educational cultures, and identities. "These different types of plurality do not simply exist side by side. They impinge on one another in complex and often conflictual ways. They are neither transient nor circumstantial, but deeply entrenched in most European countries precisely because of migration movements, the existence of regional and ethnic minorities and – whatever its democratic virtues and beneficial effects – the advent of mass education and scientific and technological progress"[11].

2.1 Multiple linguistic situations of adult migrants

2.1.1 Multiple uses of the language(s) of the host country

The language needs of new adult immigrants differ according to the group considered. Needs in terms of languages of origin and the host society's language vary depending on the type of migrant: political refugees, transit migrants, long-term/medium-term workers, residents (non-citizens), migrants' unemployed wives, new arrivals etc. These differences in the economic, cultural and sociological nature of migration have repercussions on migrants' language needs (for example, the communication situations that need to be mastered). They should serve as a guide to institutions in determining course objectives (for example: is the migration intended to be temporary or permanent?).

This diversity is reflected in the domains of use of the host country's language, some of which may overlap. These domains are identified by the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR)[12]:

- Personal domain: private life, family, friends, private activities (reading, television-watching, sport etc);

- Public domain: activities as a citizen, member of an organisation etc.;

- Occupational domain;

- Educational domain: communication in educational institutions of all kinds[13].

This specification of forms of communication by domain and according to the situation in which communication is needed forms the basis of any analysis of adult migrants' language needs (see 3.1.)

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[11] Cavalli, M., Coste, D., Crişan, A., van de Ven, P-H. (2007) *A European reference document for languages of education,* Council of Europe
[12] Council of Europe (2001): *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (CEFR), Didier, Paris. Available on line at www.coe.int/lang.
[13] CEFR p. 44-46

2.1.2 Multiple uses of the language(s) of origin

For new adult immigrants, their needs in terms of the host society's language(s) will depend in part on what use they make in that society of the languages of their societies of origin. The ways in which the latter languages are employed in the host society are themselves manifold: family use (between the parents themselves, between parents and children, between grandparents and children, between an adult child and younger siblings, between girls or between boys, between men or between women etc), use with neighbours and the neighbourhood etc (see domains above).

Use of the language(s) of origin depends:

- on personal choice, governed by the (conscious or unconscious) wish to i) become more or less integrated into the host society; ii) maintain or abandon the connection with the language and culture of origin;

- on the degree and types of mastery of the language of origin in the society of origin (especially written discourse);

- on the extent to which it is used in everyday life (inside and outside the family)

- on potential access to the language, and especially on its teaching in the host society's education system (bilingual education, language taught as a subject, optional extra tuition etc), on its teaching in establishments legally attached to the country of origin or in cultural associations governed by private law, and on the existence of television stations using it.

These factors can lead to a wide range of linguistic choices, from refusal to use the language of origin to refusal to learn the host society's language(s) beyond a certain level of effectiveness, which may be accompanied by community isolationism. The host society's language(s) may already be familiar to new immigrants (because taught in the society of origin or significantly present in the media there) or be totally unknown to new arrivals.

2.1.3 Multiplicity of adult migrants' language skills and experience

Other factors responsible for diverse language needs and expectations arise out of general circumstances such as the new immigrants' previous skills, and in particular:

- the nature of their educational capital (little or no schooling in their countries of origin) and training;

- the nature of their linguistic repertoires: *linguistic repertoire* is taken to mean all the varieties of a language in which an individual has some proficiency (first language, regional language, language learnt at school, language learnt during periods abroad etc), irrespective of level or purpose. An individual repertoire will vary throughout life (acquisition of new languages, "forgetting" of acquired languages etc). New adult immigrants may be speakers with an extensive linguistic repertoire, aware of their plurilingual skills or, at the opposite extreme, speakers with a limited repertoire, considering themselves to be monolingual and/or with no experience of learning a foreign language. Their linguistic resources may include foreign languages used in Europe as national/official languages (English, Spanish etc), whether or not acquired through tuition;

- real similarities between the language of origin and a/the language of the host country (see above), especially in the writing system: languages with a Roman alphabet, with other alphabetic systems (European, Mediterranean, Asian, etc.), with a non-alphabetic writing system etc;

- the gap between the language behaviours (oral and written) of the original speech community and those of the settlement community (forms of verbal courtesy, for example).

These factors must in turn generate appropriate forms of teaching the host society's language and achievable objectives that are not predetermined.

2.1.4 Multiplicity of teaching/learning periods

Lastly, it is essential when organising language courses to take account of the time factor (length and pace: lesson frequency):

- the time needed to acquire proficiency in writing and the production of written work, which takes 7 to 8 years or more for pupils (native speakers) in the normal school system;

- the time needed to learn a/the language of the host country in a normal teaching situation and with personal study time, which will be limited for new adult immigrants because of their employment (working hours, night work, dependants etc), their material living conditions, their being unaccustomed to self-directed learning etc.

- the age at which these adults have emigrated, which will require courses to be adapted accordingly.

It must also be borne in mind that development of individual repertoires is intergenerational in the case of these migration movements. A/the language of the host country is often acquired across three generations:

- grandparents, who arrive at the same time as their children: they use their existing repertoires and make little (or no) use of the new language(s) of the society where they have settled;

- parents, who arrive relatively young: they incorporate a/the language of the host society into their repertoires and may or may not pass on their languages of origin to their own children;

- children, who go to school in the host country, where they were usually born, and who may tend (partly or wholly) to forget the languages of their family's societies of origin.

Of course, this theoretical outline takes no account of a range of social and personal factors such as "mixed-culture" marriages between migrants of different origins or between migrants and residents. Whatever the case, it is obvious that acquisition of a/the language of the host society is a matter of time and degree. It can be pinned down in the absolute only by disregarding the dynamics of linguistic repertoires that are attendant on migration movements.

2.2 Various "junctures" of migration

We know that migration is not an isolated act but rather a process, with multiple scenarios, which can be broken down into phases or junctures:

- in the phase prior to actual migration, the persons planning to migrate may prepare for it themselves or be prepared by their family (parents contemplating emigration for their children may choose which languages they are to be taught on the basis of their plans);

- actual arrival in the host society, which is a time of urgency when the new adult immigrants must have the linguistic resources (already acquired or to be acquired in future) giving them access to employment, housing, health services, public services, education, culture and the media;

- settlement may be brief or may consist of regular stays alternating between the country of origin and the host society, which has consequences for proficiency in the languages of both countries;

- settlement may be long-term with a general intention of returning, but with less frequent stays in the country of origin (just for holidays, for example). As in the case of regular alternating stays, it will be accompanied by an application for a long-term residence permit;

- settlement may be considered permanent by the adult migrants, but their children may plan to return to their family's country of origin (which is not incompatible with an application for naturalisation);

- residence may encourage migrants to become citizens of the countries in which they are settled.

It is clear that, depending on the stage and nature of the migration (with or without plans to return; with or without plans for naturalisation), adult migrants will perceive their language needs differently. Thus political refugees constitute a group on their own, which is often covered by specific training[14].

The host society's expectations may themselves vary, according to whether training is made available to new arrivals or designed for resident immigrants, whether language proficiency is connected with the right of residence or access to citizenship etc.

2.3   Training covered by this document

This document specifically covers training for groups of vulnerable adult migrants, namely:

- persons who are not subject to compulsory schooling in host countries;

- newly arrived migrants and, in some cases, immigrants who have been staying in the host country for several years but who have special language-training needs (immigrants' unemployed wives, for example);

- adult migrants with little educational capital (primary schooling only, compulsory schooling not completed, no schooling, no vocational training or certified vocational skills etc), with limited experience of learning or using languages other than their mother tongues or first languages, and with a linguistic repertoire unappreciated in the host country or held in low esteem by themselves.

These adults, who are often new arrivals, are usually unable to take responsibility for their language learning through individual self-training or well-considered language training strategies.

This document also covers other adult migrants or immigrants who may also have special educational needs because:

- they have not acquired, either on their own or through organised training, what they regard as sufficient skills for integration. This may be the case for migrants'

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[14] See, for example, the case study on *Responding to the language needs of adult refugees...*(Appendix)

unemployed wives, who have not acquired the language skills to make them independent because of insufficient exposure to the language, or for young immigrants who are too old to be subject to compulsory schooling and for whom the lack of language proficiency is a serious handicap in finding employment;

- the authorities require of them a certain level of proficiency in a/the national/official language as the condition for extending their stay or for access to citizenship. Some language proficiency is necessary to engage in most occupations, especially those for which immigrants are already qualified. This can be the case for graduate immigrants who do possess the necessary language skills (in the health professions, for example).

2.4 Conclusion

These language issues relating to new adult immigrants and established immigrants are part of a wider societal question and must be considered in relation to other aspects of reception policies for adult migrants. They have been fairly clearly identified but are not always approached with due regard for the extreme variety of linguistic situations that they cover.

These issues need to be treated:

- in a holistic and coordinated manner by the relevant institutions: ministries of the interior and other government departments concerned, reception bodies for new arrivals, language training measures for new arrivals, courses available to adult migrants already settled, vocational training institutions, measures governing access to citizenship, education systems etc.

- technically, on the basis of the instruments[15] already developed by the Council of Europe (Language Policy Division) to enable member states to introduce language support measures for adult migrants in accordance with the principles of the Council of Europe.

This document will take stock of the problems inherent in these language issues for host societies in their relations with adult migrants. It will argue that these issues are specific, which means that the answers they call for cannot be found in other fields (vocational training, social policy etc). This position is based on the underlying values of the Council of Europe, which will be specified for this particular area of language policy.

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[15] In particular the CEFR and the *Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe* (see Appendix).

3. Organising principles for language policies for adult migrants in host societies

Linguistic support for migrants, their adjustment to the norms of the host society (their rights and responsibilities as residents or future citizens, for example) and their acceptance by that society all raise questions of social cohesion very familiar to Europe, which has historically been an area of internal migration and of immigration from other parts of the globe.

3.1 Human rights standards

It is to be noted that language policies (and especially linguistic support) for the integration of adult migrants are governed by wider human rights standards. The relevant provisions are to be found in:

- the *European Social Charter* (Article 19 in particular), already mentioned in the introduction;

- the *European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers* (1983);

- the *Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level* (1997);

These provisions are implemented through the development of integration policies which seek to give a higher profile to the associated language issues, as in the question of return migration[16], for example, which has serious linguistic implications: the linguistic repertoires of immigrant children may include one or more languages of the host society (which may not be part of the curriculum in the country of origin) but not that/those of the society of origin, which has/have not been passed on within the family.

This body of measures furnishes a legal framework for action by member states with regard to adult migrants and the rights and responsibilities of institutions/migrants in terms of teaching/learning the language(s) of the host society and the language(s) used by migrants in their countries of origin and their host country.

3.2 Linguistic diversity and cohesion: language as a vehicle of social inclusion for adult migrants

The underlying principle of language policies for adult migrants is thus that the interaction between the languages used by migrants and the languages used by the host societies should facilitate integration and mutual acceptance rather than giving rise to segregation and isolation. For we know how the languages "of others", when viewed through the lens of dominant social stereotypes, can lead to discriminatory perceptions of those using them:

"One of the most widespread linguistic ideologies is born of the simple feeling, which has no scientific foundation, that languages are unequal. This ideology, which is often not controlled, suggests that languages are intrinsically unequal in value. It usually has its origin in ethnocentric prejudices which make it necessary to denigrate languages spoken by others in order to establish the superiority of one's own language and group. Other languages are presented as unpleasant, rudimentary or fundamentally unsuitable for sophisticated uses such as literary or scientific expression [...] This linguistic ideology is still very much alive in

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[16] Council of Europe (2003): *Towards a migration management strategy,* Council of Europe Publishing
Council of Europe, European Committee on Migration and Tapia, S. (2006): *Towards a migration management strategy – challenges for countries of origin* (pp. 27-28).

media and political discourse, perhaps in forms less virulent than in the past. It is clear that it may lead to linguistic intolerance in that it is not likely to foster the recognition of equal respect of all linguistic varieties [...] Drawing up language education policies in a democratic context involves using perceptions of languages other than those based on such stereotypes, especially since the ideology of the unequal value of languages has been used as a premise for policies of cultural and religious repression, in order to justify or perpetuate territorial conquests, marginalise social groups, hinder their emancipation or retrospectively justify colonial enterprises"[17].

It is therefore important that language policies should generally aim to counteract such stereotypes in order to promote the harmonious coexistence of languages and the persons using them in a public arena. For migrants, as for other groups of people – whether citizens, residents or foreigners – the purpose of these policies is to ensure that, whatever the circumstances, the varieties of language present in a territory (whether "native" or more recent) do not constitute a factor of exclusion.

Adult migrants' knowledge of a/the language of the host country should not therefore be regarded as a precondition for residence or access to nationality. Employing the host society's language and using several languages for communication is both the most direct form of inclusive socialisation and a "natural" form of language acquisition. Since languages are acquired in the course of communication, it is obvious that active involvement in the life of society (from the very outset of a migrant's stay), including through the cultural activities of migrants' associations, is the condition for successful language learning: a/the national/official language is learnt through everyday engagement with the life of society, drawing first and foremost on all the resources of the individual repertoire and with cooperation from those "native" speakers who show linguistic goodwill towards new arrivals and help them with the learning process. Language learning roots integration in actual participation in the life of society: such learning is not a precondition for but rather an effect of this participation.

It is in everybody's interest that this "linguistic acclimatisation" of new immigrants should take place as quickly as possible so that a society may benefit from the contribution and skills of new arrivals, who will supply the labour market and generate taxes for the community.

3.3 Plurilingual education as a principle and tool for the social integration of adult migrants

The social integration of adult migrants can be pursued by introducing plurilingual education, which is the Council of Europe's guiding principle in the field of language teaching and its goals. The position of the Council of Europe has been clarified in a number of official documents, such as the Recommendations of its Committee of Ministers to member states (R (82) 18, D.10, and R (98) 6, F.23) and of its Parliamentary Assembly (R 1383 (1998), § 8.i, and R 1539 (2001), § 7).

It should be noted that plurilingual education is an educational project with general relevance and one intended to embrace all languages in education systems. It has therefore not been designed just for adult migrants, but language courses for adult migrants and the reception of newly arrived children in the education system represent a crucial domain for its implementation.

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[17] Council of Europe (2006) *From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education: Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe,* see 1.3.1 Common linguistic ideology: the inequality of languages (pp. 25-26)

3.3.1 Plurilingualism and *the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*

Plurilingualism constitutes the underlying principle of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) developed by the Language Policy Division. This instrument is intended to provide a common basis for member states to design language programmes using shared elements but in different combinations. The aim of language education is to use various means to provide learners with "plurilingual and pluricultural competence", meaning "the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures"[18].

It is assumed that:

- plurilingual competence exists in all individuals who are, or have the potential to be, plurilingual; this competence is a materialisation of the language ability genetically inherent in all human beings and which may be vested in a number of languages. It is up to education, whatever its nature, to ensure the harmonious development of everybody's plurilingual competence in the same way as their physical, cognitive, vocational and creative abilities;

- an individual's linguistic repertoire (or *plurilingual repertoire*) comprises various languages (languages learnt in childhood, at a later stage, through tuition, through self-directed study etc) in which he or she has acquired varying skills (conversation, reading, listening etc) with different individual levels of proficiency. The languages in the repertoire may be used for different purposes: communicating within the family, socialising with neighbours, working, indicating membership of a group etc. Although all plurilingual repertoires are different, some groups may be considered to have repertoires that share the same structure to some extent. It is up to the state to ensure a democratic balance between the plurilingual repertoires of migrant groups on the one hand and the languages used by national, regional and federal government on the other.

Development of plurilingual and pluricultural competence within a plurilingual education is an integral part of a European outlook, being designed to:

- prevent the serious economic losses represented by the disappearance of speakers of languages whose transmission the authorities have been unable to support effectively. This is especially the case for languages of communities recently settled in Europe;

- allow every European to play an effective role as a citizen in the national and transnational public arena;

- constitute one of the foundations of democratic coexistence. If the diversity of languages in one's own repertoire – in terms of their functions and value – is recognised, this awareness of one's personal diversity is likely to foster a positive perception of the languages of others. This appreciation of plurilingualism thus lays the foundations for education in linguistic goodwill as part of intercultural education.

Being plurilingual does not therefore mean mastering an impressive number of languages to a high level of proficiency like a polyglot but rather developing the ability to use more than one language with varying degrees of proficiency for different skills (speaking, writing, reading etc) and various purposes.

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[18] CEFR, p. 169-170

3.3.2 Plurilingual and pluricultural education for adult migrants

Organising language training for adult migrants according to the principles of plurilingual and pluricultural education means taking account of:

- the varieties of language already present in their linguistic repertoires in order, at least, to enhance their status and avoid their becoming a mark of marginality for the adult migrants themselves and their children;

- the actual use of these varieties of language in the host societies and the role that they play in the social and professional life of adult migrants;

- the varieties of language used by other migrants;

- the linguistic varieties of the host society, which may itself be multilingual;

- the linguistic varieties of the host society to which adult migrants are actually exposed and which they may assimilate by themselves without tuition. These may be different from the host society's official languages (a regional language, for example, or a regional form of a national language);

- the language(s) used at the schools attended by their children;

- the "foreign" languages taught or used.

It is understandable that, depending on context and needs, priority may be given to teaching/learning of a/the language of the host society for vital and immediate practical reasons, especially in the arrival and settlement phases. But even if the training offered to new adult immigrants concerns only the host country language in the main, some form of plurilingual education for these groups of arrivals should be included (and even more so for established immigrants), at least in the form of improving the status of the languages already in the new immigrants' repertoires and making new immigrants aware of the linguistic diversity of the host society and the linguistic groups (including other migrants) living there.

3.3.3 A holistic approach to language education policy

Plurilingual education means not approaching language teaching in a compartmentalised manner, language by language, stage by stage and field by field (language versus culture, communication versus grammar), but designing it to be comprehensively consistent and integrated. For a speaker's ability to communicate is a whole and is only split up into "school subjects" because of the way in which most curricula are organised. The most obvious case is the separation between the teaching of "foreign" languages, the teaching of the national/regional language (which is the mother tongue of many of the children but not of the new arrivals) as a subject, and the teaching of the language in which other subjects (mathematics, geography etc) are taught. This point of view has been explained in another instrument drawn up by the Language Policy Division: the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe*[19], which is intended to provide member states with technical and educational information to implement plurilingual and pluricultural education in their education systems (nature of syllabuses, organisation of curricula, training of teachers).

One of the features of language courses for adults (whether new or established immigrants) is that they are organised in parallel with or outside the national/regional education system: they are often entrusted to specialist agencies, to associations, to private, municipal or local bodies etc. Syllabuses are developed locally, and the training of the teachers providing the courses (who may be either volunteers or professional staff) can vary greatly. In these

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[19] See Appendix.

circumstances, a holistic approach to language issues that affect new and established immigrants is even more essential than for other language training. It entails:

- forms of technical and policy coordination at regional and national level;

- common standards for developing courses, in the shape of benchmarks or reference frameworks for training;

- common exam and certification models;

- teaching methods that take into account the educational cultures of the new arrivals (that is, their perceptions of school, teaching and teachers, learning, academic achievement, ways of assimilating languages that it is considered important to learn etc) and the probable lack of familiarity with any educational culture on the part of adult learners who may have had no schooling – or very little and a long time ago.

This type of convergence and consistency should be introduced in the light of other general characteristics of the education system, so as not to separate different aspects of language policy and set apart those relating to adult migrants, which could result in educational ghettoisation. The following, in particular, should be taken into consideration:

- the scope for migrants' languages of origin in the education system, so that their children may be taught these languages, including forms of biliteracy: there is nothing to show that acquisition of literacy in a language familiar to learners is necessarily a barrier to acquisition of literacy in a/the language of the host society;

- teaching of literacy in the national language because, when teaching newly arrived immigrants, teachers may tend to rely on techniques designed for native speakers, whereas it would be advisable to rethink the methodology from a specific angle fairly similar to the approach used for foreign languages;

- the legitimacy of the languages of origin in the host society, especially the ways in which they are present in private or official training (particularly in any courses designed for learners who are native speakers or who do not have these languages in their repertoires – for example, as part of education or awareness-raising with regard to the diversity of human languages, provided from the earliest stage of education);

- the scope and form, in general education, of intercultural education and education for citizenship.

Training for adult migrants in the host society's language is specific in nature, and it is important to treat it as such, but it must also be considered in relation to the entire range of problems connected with their and their families' social integration and the entire range of language education policy choices.

3.4   Conclusion

These principles make it possible to identify educational measures in plurilingual education that will meet the needs and expectations of adult migrants in order to integrate them successfully into their host societies and in a manner that meets the latter's social, cultural and economic interests. This language training, which will be open and diverse and tailored to the various forms and stages of migration, should preclude any standard approach and any uniform level of proficiency expected in a/the language of the host society: policies of linguistic support must be adjusted to the diversity of adult migrants' initial situations and the variety of ways in which these migrants are integrated, either temporarily or permanently, in European societies.

4. Instruments for developing linguistic/intercultural education for adult migrants

The intention here is to provide a brief outline of (existing and potential) instruments and procedures for developing language training for adult migrants. Some of these will be covered by specific studies published at the same time as this reference document (see Appendix 1). These instruments should enable member states to choose from among the available options, within the framework of standards and principles established by the Council of Europe in this field, in order to address various aspects of these language training issues, such as:

- What scope should be given to migrants' languages of origin (using which teaching methods) in their learning of the host society's language(s)?

- Who has access to language training and in what circumstances (compulsory or optional, length, fees and funding, remunerated etc)?

- Does training entail assessment? What methods of assessment, for what social uses and in what form? If national/official certification is involved, how is its made fair and reliable?

- What proficiency levels are supposed to be attained by learners in various communicative activities (interaction, reception/comprehension, production etc), given the diversity of adult migrants' language needs, which will depend on the nature, stage, etc, of migration?

- What level of language proficiency is required for access to citizenship and what cultural/civic knowledge/skills?

- What are the shared frameworks of reference for specifying expected communicative competences and language proficiency?

- What are the teaching methodologies?

- What are the reference frameworks for teacher training?

- What are the instruments for ensuring teaching quality?

4.1 Design of language training for adult migrants

The organisation of language tuition, especially concerning the language(s) of the host society, for specific groups of adults comes under the general problem of language training design. But, because of the highly political dimension of migration issues, the corresponding educational problems call for particular attention to quality and transparency on the part of the institutions responsible for language training in the interests of the adults concerned and of the host society, whose object is the successful integration of these people.

An association such as the ALTE (Association of Language Testers in Europe), for example, has already pointed out that the language tests undergone by adult migrants are extremely important for them: it is therefore absolutely essential that the bodies responsible for developing these tests should adhere to a clear code of good practice in order to ensure that the procedures followed are of adequate quality and that candidates are treated fairly and appropriately in a verifiable manner. What is true for tests is just as true for the other decisions that must be taken in order to develop and manage teaching of a/the language of the host society.

4.1.1   A coherent process of developing language training

This requirement for transparency and quality in the development and organisation of language training for adult migrants is all the more important because such training is the responsibility of numerous bodies and players, who are not necessarily all equipped and prepared for the task in the same way. For example, training may be provided by public institutions (education systems), associations, charities or individual volunteers. The training of these participants themselves is thus extremely variable. Similarly, the development or administration of final language tests or the assessment of language skills for the granting of citizenship may be entrusted to recognised professional bodies specialising in assessment of language skills or it may be managed by staff who are not specialists in language teaching and who rely, at best, on their educational common sense (for example, officials in the Ministry of the Interior who process applications for naturalisation).

The standard general process for designing language courses and curricula may be outlined as follows:

Choosing the educational goals of language teaching
[Characterising learners' educational cultures: expectations, perceptions, learning habits etc]
||
Identifying and characterising the groups of learners concerned
||
Analysing their language needs using the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* as a resource tool for the first draft of the teaching objectives
||
Taking stock of existing resources (reference level descriptions, material produced for similar or comparable groups, linguistic analysis of the types of discourse concerned etc)
||
Identifying the language domains, contexts
and uses to be covered by teaching
||
Determining the competences to be attained in the light of needs identified for the groups concerned and of teaching resources and constraints (especially number of teaching hours and frequency)
||
Detailing the objectives: determining target proficiency levels competence by competence (including intercultural competence) on the basis of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*
||
Specifying the communicative situations and types of communication to be covered
||
Using the detailed language and culture descriptions elaborated for individual languages (reference level descriptions based on the *Common European Framework of Reference* for Languages (RLDs)) to define teaching programmes
||
Developing cultural and language curricula/teaching programmes according to constraints (available number of teaching hours, number of learners per group, technical resources (textbooks, teaching aids etc), space and premises etc)
||
Training teachers for these programmes and groups
||
Making choices regarding progression of teaching content,
form(s) of teaching sequence(s), teaching units and modules
||
Choosing teaching methods: methodology and teaching skills
||

Organising practical aspects of training: criteria for making up groups, nature of groups, rating tests|
||
Calculating the cost of this training: cost for learners (free lessons or free on condition of regular attendance; fee-paying: symbolic rate, reduced rate, actual cost with assistance from public authorities or other outside funding, full rate etc)
||
Implementing the training: curriculum/time management by teachers; learners' responsibilities (classes mandatory, optional etc), type of attendance (regular, irregular etc)
||
Choosing ways in which skills are checked
(tests and examinations, role of self-assessment and the *European Portfolio of Languages*, cost of tests and examinations payable by learners)
||
Monitoring the quality of actual training, preparation and administration of tests, types of certification etc
||
State evaluation and monitoring of these measures[20]
||
Identifying acquired knowledge and re-analysing needs,
since satisfaction of some needs gives rise to others

This clear protocol – stemming from traditional curriculum design in language teaching and which may be formulated in other, similar, ways – can guarantee the development of language training that is appropriate to the groups concerned and meets the expectations of the host society. It is important that this approach should be familiar to those responsible for this training and the teachers putting it into practice. Educational authorities of member states will be able to find guidance in a document produced by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe to help them in developing language training of all kinds: the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe: From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education*.

4.1.2   Critical points in the process of designing and implementing language training

Identifying the language needs of new adult immigrants

A number of basic elements should be noted here. The first, at the beginning of the curriculum design process, is the identification and description of these immigrants' language needs, which vary according to all the factors listed in Section 1 above: for example, language needs connected with their children's schooling, language needs connected with administrative procedures to obtain or renew residence permits, language needs relating to steps to qualify for employment programmes or programmes to help the unemployed or persons with no means of support, and social and language skills connected with the health system or for using local cultural resources. Recognition of adult migrants' actual language needs and how they are changed by training itself can make the courses offered both credible and helpful for integrating adult migrants into society.

Recognising the educational cultures of new adult immigrants

In the design of training, and especially in actual teaching activities, account should be taken of the educational cultures of the adults being trained: these are very often non-European and therefore structured by values, attitudes and habits that may jar with European ways of

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[20] See the study on *Quality assurance in the provision of language education…,* R. Rossner (Appendix 1).

teaching and learning. To respect these cultural differences, it is essential that contact between educational cultures should be managed carefully so that it does not risk turning into a "clash of cultures", generating intercultural misunderstandings, barriers and resentments.

It should be noted that by *educational culture* we mean various sets of characteristics that shape educational processes in a given society or group of societies[21]. Educational cultures as such pertain to the general educational framework in which language teaching, in particular, takes place: they consist of educational philosophies, educational institutions and methods of knowledge transmission. The concept of "educational culture" relates to teaching methods that, in practice, are embodied in clearly identifiable "exercise types" bearing the mark of a particular time and place – methods that may be misunderstood, or not understood at all, by pupils unaccustomed to this type of educational mediation. A large part of educational culture comes under the field of comparative education and concerns the nature of relations between learners and teachers, the unwritten contract in the classroom, the relationship between the individual and the group, forms and social status of assessment etc.

Lastly, educational cultures have a specifically technical side (that is, directly affecting language teaching/learning): preferences concerning classroom activities, learning processes used by learners (memorisation, for instance), teaching progression in terms of the first language, learner expectations etc. These technical aspects have an impact on the role and uses of language textbooks, the organisation of syllabuses and curricula in educational establishments, the timing of the elements to be learnt ("progression") etc.

Limiting possible effects of institutional marginalisation arising out of training for new adult immigrants

To avoid a marginalisation effect, member states are urged to exchange their experience on how to organise language courses that are not branded by public opinion as courses for "illiterates" or "foreigners". While retaining their individual features (objectives, methods, examinations), these courses can be administratively incorporated into:

- foreign language training for all types of learners;

- vocational training systems (see 3.2 3);

- the general system of courses for adults resuming their education after having abandoned it at school-leaving age.

In any case, it is worth establishing a single continuum of training for all these adult migrants, with common stages and individual steps – especially below Level A1 of the CEFR for migrants who need to acquire the writing skills needed for life in society, so that learners who are unable to read and write in their own languages are not stigmatised further.

Organising course monitoring and quality control

Quality control, that is, systematic and transparent monitoring of how these courses operate, especially in their impact on the knowledge of those attending them, is essential. For example, "[...] Great Britain has a team of inspectors specialised in language courses, under the Adult Learning Inspector system. Language centres are inspected every three years, particularly on the quality of their teaching, and are marked on a scale of 1 to 5. A centre which receives two bad marks may be disqualified. This assessment procedure must, it seems, accompany recourse to the marketplace, which is becoming generalised in most

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[21] Beacco J-C., Chiss, J-L., Cicurel, F. and Véronique, D (2005) (ed): *Les cultures éducatives et linguistiques dans l'enseignement des langues*, Presses universitaires de France.

countries"[22]. Monitoring the impact of such training is a field in which exchange of views and good practice between member states will be a crucial factor[23].

4.2 Policy choices and educational choices in language policies for adult migrants

In organising courses for adult migrants, member states should, within the framework of Council of Europe standards and principles, adopt solutions which are genuinely tailored to these migrants – that is, developed according to the procedure described above – in order to avoid unintended or even adverse effects in terms of the goal of integration (see above: quality control).

4.2.1 Use of CEFR levels

It is common for CEFR proficiency levels (A1, A2, B1 etc) to be used to define the standard which migrants are expected to reach in the host society's language(s) solely in terms of their designation (A, B, C) and their position on the scale (A1, A2, etc.): A1 = basic user, breakthrough level; A2 = basic user, waystage level; B1 = independent user, threshold level; B2 = independent user, vantage level etc. This use, which is due to the CEFR's very success as a reference tool, is nevertheless likely to standardise migrants' expected proficiency in the host society's language(s) to the lowest common denominator and ultimately to the detriment of integration:

- the CEFR cannot be relied upon simply to determine standards, since it is not a standard-setting instrument but rather specifies *reference levels* that serve as reference points for developing language syllabuses;

- the concept of levels can be useful when it is a matter of issuing language certification (standardised, reliable etc) or comparing language competences. It is not essential for preparing syllabuses: attention has already been drawn to the fact that the CEFR can be used to build up *profiles of competences* to be covered by teaching, since each activity (interaction, reception/comprehension, oral and written production, etc.) or sub-group of activities (written comprehension: understanding correspondence, reading for general orientation, reading for information and argument, reading instructions etc) is specified by level. Thus for a particular group of migrants, the objectives might be: A1 for written comprehension but A2 for aural comprehension; A1 for written production but A2 for spoken interaction. The main role of the CEFR is to facilitate transparent diversification in language training;

- the general idea of "levels" could obscure the central importance of identifying language needs before putting together courses: new and established immigrants may have everyday language needs that are fairly specific – managing daily life (shopping, travel, banking etc), employment, relations with public services (local council, police, post office, health service etc) or schools, and social relations (in the neighbourhood, district etc) – but vary according to the nature and stage of migration. Defining these needs in terms of levels will probably not pay off or may obscure new immigrants' practical needs by replacing them with standard language teaching.

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[22] *French Ministry of Employment and Social Cohesion (Directorate of Population and Migration)* and *Ministry of Culture and Communication (Department for French and the languages of France)* (2004): Linguistic integration of adult migrants in Europe, *Sèvres seminar,* 28 and 29 June, report available online on www.coe.int/lang.

[23] See the study on *Quality assurance in the provision of language education …*, R. Rossner (Appendix).

It is therefore essential not to mistake the functions of the CEFR in this field or any others[24]: it does not lay down uniform "European standards" bur rather defines common reference points that make it possible to identify language competences. The procedure is not therefore to "select" a CEFR level – naming it according to the CEFR – and then organise courses on that basis, but instead to identify language needs using these levels, amongst other methods, and make them into teaching/learning objectives. Setting a single identical proficiency level for all adult migrants being taught, especially if above A1.1 or A1, would amount to introducing an arbitrary language barrier rather than identifying a "useful" threshold for language proficiency, as this usefulness is extremely variable.

4.2.2 "Good standard" or useful skills?

These choices in defining competence profiles are not necessarily accepted by some sections of the public, which want new adult immigrants or resident migrants to be "good speakers" of the official language(s) or to speak "like us". They expect a high level of proficiency to be required of adult migrants for residence or access to citizenship (see 3.2.7.) whatever these migrants' actual language needs or migration plans. It will be important to explain, from primary school onwards (in the shape of lessons focusing on language awareness, for example), that mastery of the official/national language(s) is extremely varied even among native speakers (social variations etc), that linguistic diversity in societies is a normal sociolinguistic situation and that adult migrants, like other foreign residents and like tourists, can communicate effectively using all the languages in their repertoires. A "good standard" of the official language(s) expected of adult migrants is neither useful nor practical but ideological in nature, since communication is always established eventually with adult migrants who do not cling rigidly to their identity of origin. The expectation relates more specifically to identity: new arrivals and established immigrants are expected to be "good speakers" because that is a sign of respect for the host society's language(s) and also evidence of their assimilation, that is, in the present case a new cultural identity coinciding with that of the nationals.

Yet this question of identity is relevant only for those migrants who are intending to obtain legal citizenship of the host country and not for all migrants, since their migration plans differ. And we know, moreover, that consensus among citizens on the "definition" of a shared national identity is lacking, especially if the state is multilingual. The question of a "good standard" must therefore be couched in terms of effectiveness rather than simplistic identity. However, account must be taken, as far as is reasonable, of the host country citizens' idea of a "good standard" in the national language(s).

4.2.3 Language training for adult migrants: rights, responsibilities and motivation

Member states must also exchange their views on the methods adopted to ensure that the available language training is of benefit to those receiving it. This question calls for two observations. The first is that the adults for whom it is intended may have had an unhappy experience of school in their countries of origin: they will therefore undoubtedly need encouragement to attend such training. One of the major challenges is how to make language courses attractive. For many new adult immigrants, a certain proficiency in the host society's language(s) starts to be acquired "naturally" through social contact. Such people have to be attracted into a more comprehensive training process that builds on these initial learning

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[24] See the report of the Forum *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and the development of language policies: challenges and responsibilities,* (Strasbourg, 8-10 February 2007), especially part 2, *Presentations* (online: www.coe.int/lang).
See also the study on the *Common European Framework ...*, D. Little (Appendix).

experiences and makes room for their linguistic repertoires in the teaching. They must also be encouraged to attend regularly, so that their investment in this training pays off. Yet we find that, for many different reasons (tiredness, child-minding, time spent travelling to reach courses etc), adult migrants may find it difficult to keep up regular attendance at language courses.

The second observation is that although member states may regard training in the host country's language(s) as a right of new adult immigrants, the latter may not avail themselves of it: it is their decision whether or not they wish to take advantage of the training provided by the public authorities. Training in the host country's language(s) may also be specified as a requirement, in which case the national/regional authorities are responsible for organising it.

This problem of inducing adult migrants to attend language training and determining the responsibilities of the players involved entails various incentive strategies employing varying degrees of coercion or persuasion. It should be noted that the choices made by member states in this field must take account of the range of situations in which adult migrants find themselves and the diversity of their life projects: the requirement to attend training may thus be viewed differently according to whether it concerns new arrivals or settled immigrants who are applying for citizenship. It is especially important to realise that attendance at courses in the host society's language(s) will probably depend on how useful learners find them: courses that are based on meeting learners' actual language needs and that use teaching methods which take account of these adults' educational cultures and perceptions of language learning are probably more attractive than other sorts of courses.

Types of incentive or coercion can vary considerably:

- free but compulsory language courses to be taken by a certain time-limit (from arrival in the country), with a pass in the final assessment, with penalties for non-compliance;

- free courses (or with payment of a fee) available to new immigrants, with attendance registers, assessment of knowledge gained (without the requirement to attain specific types of proficiency) and full or partial reimbursement of the fee on the basis of actual attendance;

- remunerated courses (or with specific allowances, subsidised loans etc) available to new immigrants in return for an undertaking to achieve a certain proficiency profile and as a condition for obtaining a long-term residence permit.

- etc.

It is important to understand that although, from an educational point of view, languages learnt as a result of external constraints may indeed provide consistent results measurable by tests, attitudes towards languages learnt in such circumstances may be ones of rejection or such as to strengthen communitarian identity. Linguistic integration should not therefore occur at the expense of cultural integration. If migrants are to feel fully involved in their courses, it is probably preferable to attempt to bolster their motivation by stressing the progress accomplished, making it "measurable" in terms of clearly identified benchmarks within their reach. Any set of provisions aimed at making acquisition of a/the host society language an administrative requirement, coupled with penalties, may have the opposite effect from that intended and turn essential language learning into a necessary formality or a subject of intercultural conflict.

4.2.4   Assessment: incentives or obligation to pass?

Assessment as an element of training[25]

The issue of testing and examinations is related to the preceding issue. If learning of the host society's language(s) in organised courses is considered a matter for which the adult migrants themselves are responsible, they are then left to assess their own language and training needs, which will happen when they find out whether they are able to handle successfully the communicative situations in which they are involved. In this case, there is intuitive self-assessment and no formal/official testing is necessary.

If these adult migrants choose to attend language courses, the latter will entail the usual types of summative learning assessment, intended to measure skills, identify subsequent needs and situate each learner on the learning path marked out by CEFR benchmarks. Some may also think it worth taking existing examinations in the national/official language as a foreign language, designed for every type of candidate, which are organised both inside and outside the host country[26].

If the public authorities consider that new adult immigrants must be encouraged or compelled to attend courses, in their own interests and for the sake of integration, a test of acquired skills may then be expected, which can have several separate purposes:

- To ascertain the effectiveness of training and the return on the corresponding investment;

- To ascertain the proficiency of the adults being trained when a certain mastery of the host society's language(s) is officially required for entering the country (test prior to departure, as a precondition for entry), for obtaining a permanent residence permit or employment, or for access to citizenship.

The latter condition of a "required level" may exist even if language training is not compulsory.

We should not underrate the fact that, in language teaching, assessment is seen primarily as part of the training, making it possible not so much to 'grade' learners (as required by institutions) but rather to give them guidance in identifying what they have learnt and what they have not, so as better to direct the subsequent stages of their learning. Such awareness is a major ingredient in learner autonomy. With this in mind, the Language Policy Division has created the *European Language Portfolio* (ELP)[27] as a tool for plurilingual education (enabling a person to record the whole of his or her language experience) and for self-assessment in a learning environment. For new adult immigrants, some countries (such as Finland, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden) use tools based on the concept of portfolios as a method of training through guided self-assessment but also as instruments enabling individuals to analyse their own intercultural experience[28]. These tools demonstrate that it is possible to create non-penalising forms of assessment coming genuinely within the framework of plurilingual education, which is the precondition for successful policies of linguistic integration.

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[25] See *Language tests for social cohesion and citizenship: an outline for policymakers,* ALTE Authoring Group, (Appendix)

[26] Such as, for example, the German examinations run by the Goethe Institute, the DEFL/DALF for French, run by French Cultural Centres and the Alliance France, etc.

[27] www.coe.int/portfolio

[28] *Milestone European Language Portfolio* : www.eu-milestone.de

Tests and examinations

The introduction of language testing (identifying proficiency on a scale) looks scientifically attractive and has organisational advantages: tests can be automated, organised from a distance and cost less in terms of preparation and administration. This is not without its attractions for policy-makers. If it is decided to introduce testing to measure language proficiency, the conditions must be such as to make it an instrument of inclusion, rather than exclusion, for adult migrants, since tests are unable to guarantee the social and cultural integration of those taking them, whether they pass or fail: they confine themselves to measuring language alone rather than attitudes to the host society's languages, which are a deciding factor in intercultural understanding and social cohesion.

Tests must be designed:

- for specific groups of migrants;

- for specific rather than all-encompassing purposes: rating tests to determine training needs, language tests to obtain residence permits or citizenship etc;

- taking account of new adult immigrants' spoken interaction skills, which are generally the most well-developed but also the most difficult (technically) and the most expensive to assess by testing;

- focusing on communication skills rather than grammatical knowledge, vocabulary, accent or pronunciation (inasmuch as they do not prevent communication with native speakers) – using CEFR descriptors;

- with due regard for quality criteria, which probably means that they should be designed and administered by bodies other than those which organise the language courses;

- in the recognition that a test can be taken as many times as necessary until the requisite proficiency is attained;

- to be provided free of charge, especially if they are part of a training process or are required by an official procedure.

The most important element of testing, apart from its intrinsic qualities, is the proficiency threshold or, rather, the proficiency profile, that is to be attained. When defining the levels (see 3.2.1) we must not lose sight of what they actually mean. For example, for spoken interaction, B1 of the CEFR specifies: "Can communicate with some confidence on familiar routine and non-routine matters related to his/her interests and professional field. Can exchange, check and confirm information, deal with less routine situations and explain why something is a problem. Can express thoughts on more abstract, cultural topics such as films, books, music, etc"[29]. And, as regards grammatical accuracy, for B1 the user/learner: "Communicates with reasonable accuracy in familiar contexts; generally good control though with noticeable mother tongue influence. Errors occur, but it is clear what he/she is trying to express"[30]. This determination of thresholds and profiles entails complex decisions, which should take particular account of the actual language needs of the adults concerned – rather than the standard, stereotyped social perceptions of what a "foreigner" ought to know – in order genuinely to foster social cohesion and the integration of adult migrants.

In comparison with testing, language examinations leading to award of a qualification are potentially less excluding, since they can be used to structure courses, motivate learners and certify skills more discriminatingly than in the case of tests. They cost more to provide

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[29] CEFR, page 74
[30] CEFR, page 114

because they presuppose training of examiners, for instance. But they are more traditional forms of assessment, not necessarily alien to learners' educational cultures, even if they still have their traumatic aspects. Here again there is the question, scarcely touched on above, of examinations that are required to be passed, that is, the proficiency levels or profiles expected by the authorities for specific steps by new adult immigrants or settled migrants relating to life in society.

The ethics of assessment

In view of the importance of passing a test or examination for such people, professionals working in the field of examination and testing have placed great emphasis on the absolute need for such tests or examinations to be reliable. While the independent or private bodies that design tests and examinations may establish a universal grid for levels, valid for the entire qualifications market, there is no guarantee that this will be appropriate for the migrant communities concerned or consistent with integration policies. However, they have the advantage of being bound by quality standards. Be that as it may, if tests and examinations are designed specifically for migrants, they must similarly meet qualitative and ethical standards. According to the ALTE principles of good practice [31], assessment through standardised examinations must meet validity, reliability and fairness requirements. Otherwise, they may potentially be instruments of exclusion for new adult immigrants: the reliability of some examinations designed for the latter might turn out to be questionable after auditing of their development, content or methods of administration.

In this field, more than any other, member states are urged to share their experience, instruments and good practice so as to introduce procedures to verify that examinations are open to adult migrants, that they do not penalise the latter under the guise of objectivity, that they are transparent and that they include appeals procedures.

4.2.5   Language training and employment

Proficiency in the host society's language is necessary if adult migrants are to find employment, but it is just as necessary for native speakers and not always forthcoming. In relation to adult migrants, this question is one aspect of the broader issue of the language and discourse skills required in the workplace. Yet, these have become more complex overall because of the existence of IT, for example, in many areas of employment. "Companies need communication skills, but not only that: it is not enough just to understand or pass on an instruction; an ability of discernment, discussion, choice or even operational strategy is also required. Language tuition for working with a company should not therefore just contain lists of specific vocabulary, but should be based on more general training, enabling employees to acquire common and communicative skills"[32]. Inadequate language skills can prove to be a serious occupational handicap. In many companies, language requirements for employees, especially native speakers, have not been identified as such, and the relationship between language training and job training varies considerably across Europe.

In general language training for new adult immigrants it is not technically difficult to include among the objectives skills relating to communication in the employment sphere, which, in terms of their language needs, are often a priority for many of these immigrants. This domain has been clearly identified in the CEFR[33], which can very well be used to develop

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[31] ALTE code of practice: http://www.alte.org/quality_assurance/index.php. See also the study on *Language tests for social cohesion ...* (Appendix)

[32] *French Ministry of Employment and Social Cohesion (Directorate of Population and Migration)* and *Ministry of Culture and Communication (Department for French and the languages of France)* (2005): Linguistic integration of adult migrants in Europe, *Sèvres seminar,* 26 and 27 September, page 11.

[33] CEFR, page 48.

courses (or course units) of this sort, and there are already examples of this type of material in language teaching[34]. In this field, the skills sought can only be transversal and non-specialist: social communication between employees, relations with management and supervisors, learning different forms of instructions, etc Preparation for a specific economic sector (building trade, health service) or a specific job cannot be provided in these courses because of the range of learners. It consequently falls within the province of business or professional know-how.

However, it seems that company managers still have to be made aware of the problem if we are to believe a survey carried out in France, for example, which shows that only 4% of companies (out of the 1300 that replied, although 6000 were contacted) had provided (French) language training for at least one employee[35]. It is therefore important to create the conditions for specifically coordinating occupational know-how more closely with the language skills from which it is often indissociable, in order to design courses appropriate not only to employees who are native speakers but also to migrants, where the difference may only be one of degree.

It is thus important for member states to exchange their views on and experience of coordinating occupational training with language training. We should ponder, amongst other things:

- the advisability (and possible forms) of action by the public authorities to promote introduction of such courses and encourage companies to play a part;

- the relationship between the education system (responsible for initial vocational training) and further training, which is usually the responsibility of businesses and particularly concerns adult migrants;

- the suitability of language courses (for all employees, whether migrants or not) which are incorporated in the training for specific occupations that is offered as part of further training when the latter is statutory;

- the methodology for producing frameworks of reference combining occupational skills with the corresponding language skills, taking the CEFR as a basis. This approach implies an accurate knowledge of the labour market for adult migrants. In creating formal frameworks of reference (vocabulary, grammar etc) for languages to be taught, specific use might be made of existing CEFR reference level descriptions for individual languages (French, German, Greek, Italian etc), which can in fact be easily adapted to the groups of migrants concerned in the light of the communicative situations that they have to manage, especially for vocabulary and Level A skills.

This is the aspect of language training policy for adult migrants that probably requires the closest attention, as common tools to manage it are still lacking.

4.2.6   Migrants' languages of origin

The question of how to take account of the languages of origin of migrants' children has produced various answers, which obviously pertain to the school system, where they are usually addressed. A survey of types of reception for school-age children, usually in the form of extracurricular tuition in specific national/official languages in order to allow them to

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[34] Here, we are thinking in particular of Jupp, T.C. and Hodling, S. (1975): *Industrial English,* Cambridge University Press, which describes the training in English provided in a small British company for Pakistani employees.

[35] French Ministry of Culture and Communication (Department for French and the languages of France), Seminar 8 March 2007: *La maîtrise du français au service de l'entreprise.*

follow the general curriculum in due course, has been produced by the European Commission[36]. The arrangements recorded in this survey show that some states have made it an option or a requirement to organise lessons in, or to teach, the mother tongue or language of origin in parallel with the general curriculum (and therefore in connection with extracurricular tuition) before the children begin to follow this curriculum.

The dynamics of adult migrants' linguistic repertoires

For adults, the problem is couched in entirely different terms, as they know their languages of origin (at least in spoken form), since they used them before their departure, they use them in the host society, and they have usually been educated in them[37]. The necessary measures therefore concern not so much the teaching of these languages, which may, however, be relevant for established immigrants in particular, but rather their acceptance by the host society (and the migrants themselves) and their transmission between generations, as many of them are not taught in schools.

Moreover, it is necessary to take into account separate needs: on the one hand, newly arrived immigrants for whom acquisition of a/the language of the host society is a basic and pressing requirement for integration; on the other, settled or resident immigrants and those who have become citizens, whose mother tongues or languages of origin may change functional and symbolic status in individual repertoires – these languages may, for example, see their fields of use narrow or become specialised, and they may even cease to be used in the family (including between spouses with the same mother tongue). These variations in use do not automatically affect the status of these languages: they can still be languages of identity, including for the children of these immigrants, even if they are not used as much (or at all). They may also lose their status to a/the language of the host society through assimilation strategies. But they may also keep it if, for example, restructured linguistic repertoires or dual nationality (where legally possible) create new configurations of linguistic and cultural identity. These dynamics also involve other (regional/foreign) languages that these same migrants may learn for personal or employment reasons.

Intercultural dialogue and linguistic goodwill towards migrants' languages

Adjustment of the host society to adult migrants' languages is the obverse of the latter's acquisition of a/the language of this society. This "adjustment" is based mainly on developing and fostering attitudes of curiosity and goodwill towards these "new" languages so as to avoid the linguistic intolerance that arises out of their systematic disparagement. This goodwill is apparent in everyday communication between native speakers and migrant speakers by, for example:

- the interest shown in these different or unknown languages (requests for information or translations: *How do you say "hello", "thank you" etc?*), which is a matter of common verbal courtesy;

- demonstration of any knowledge of the other's language, however limited;

- regret at not being able to use the language with other speakers and being limited to the language of the native speaker;

- the consideration shown to these speakers by making an effort to listen carefully, pronounce clearly and not speak too fast;

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[36] European Commission, Eurydice (2004): *The school integration of immigrant children in Europe*.
[37] If their "mother tongue" is also the language of instruction.

- the tactful help provided to a speaker who may be having problems (as part of the "learning agreement" between native and non-native speakers that allows them to give/ask for linguistic information: *Is that how you say it*?);

The observance of such civilities in language and communication could make intercultural communication easier in this dissymmetric process by not putting all the linguistic onus on the non-native speaker and by showing that the other speaker is aware of the efforts that the latter is making and appreciates them.

For newly arrived immigrants, the priority is learning a/the language of the host society. It is therefore natural that room should be made for languages of origin in such teaching, not in the form of tuition itself but within the educational and methodological framework for the teaching of a/the language of the state/region where the immigrant has settled.

It is essential to train teachers responsible for courses for adult migrants to:

- inform themselves about learners' languages of origin (structure, history etc);

- learn the rudiments of these languages, for example to pronounce learners' names correctly;

- have learners describe the language behaviour "rules" and customs in their speech communities, probably using a shared third language;

- inform the whole class of all the learners' languages of origin;

- use tools comparable to the *European Portfolio of Languages* tailored to new adult immigrants (see 3.2.3);

- take account of the latter's educational cultures of origin (see 3.1.2);

- preserve their dignity in all activities and assessments;

- make room for activities which tie in with those focusing on the target language and in which the language(s) of the immigrant learners is/are present (songs, poetry, nursery rhymes, tongue-twisters, wordplay etc).

This form of presence many be only symbolic in these target language courses, given the learners' pressing language needs, but it is intended to show that learning the new language does not mean rejecting languages of origin or imply self-denial.

Generational transmission of languages of origin by immigrants

All other things being equal, the languages of settled immigrants are associated with the same political and sociolinguistic problems as "indigenous" regional languages with no official status. It is up to the host society and the immigrants themselves to organise the transmission of these languages between generations for as long as possible, for the richness of individual language repertoires is an asset for the entire nation. This transmission takes place in extremely uncertain circumstances, since it is difficult for the languages brought by immigrants to attain any official status in the host society.

Language policies aimed at supporting transmission of migration languages first entail the introduction of bilingual teaching. A plurilingual education turning on balanced bilingualism in terms of the national language and language of origin is a realistic educational objective unless the aim is maximum "dual proficiency" with two mother tongues. Multiple forms of these bilingual pathways are available in language training design and must be selected with reference to a variety of parameters, including the size of the immigrant communities using these languages and their geographical concentrations.

Apart from this contribution by the host society, it is obvious that mobilisation of adult immigrants is the basic factor ensuring the enduring use of languages of origin and their maintenance in individual repertoires. There may be ambient cultural pressure or even political pressure that presents the maintaining of the language of origin as an obstacle to learning a new language (that of the host society). This view of the nature of language learning is ill-founded, since it does not present the languages already learnt as a resource for learning further languages. But it is a view that may also be adopted by migrant families, especially if they see their languages of origin as a sign of marginality. It should be stressed that maintaining the language(s) of origin may be a precondition for satisfactory learning at school.

To support the transmission of languages of origin, measures should be introduced to:

- provide parents and the general public with information about bilingualism (and how it is acquired), in particular to put into perspective concerns relating to possible adverse consequences for acquisition of the national/official language. Such material for the general public could be used, for example, in briefing sessions for parents with children entering nursery school.

- develop intergenerational activities: sociolinguists emphasise the importance of grandparents and older people in the transmission of languages to grandchildren/young children: "An ongoing relationship between a group of children and a group of still active seniors can be extremely rewarding for all concerned, altought it requires supervision and may not be entirely without monetary cost and associated legacies"[38].

- network language stakeholders by fostering synergies between immigrants in different centres of population: in order to root certain uses of languages of origin firmly in the repertoires of the younger generation it is necessary to recreate individual speech communities in the form of a demographically concentrated "home-family-neighbourhood-community". This is the only way of ensuring transmission of the language of origin as the first language/mother tongue (according to J. Fishman, Stage 6 of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, (GIDS)[39]). "Proximity is rediscovered as a major means of counterbalancing impersonality of non-space based metropolitan relationships. Cultural action at the neighbourhood level [...] also can build bridges between ethnically and culturally diverse groups...."[40]

These measures to maintain the languages brought by adult migrants entail joint, coordinated mobilisation of the host society's educational and policy bodies, of resident adult migrants and their language/cultural associations, and, if appropriate, of the authorities of the country of origin. They lay the necessary foundations for intercultural communication and social cohesion.

4.2.7 Intercultural education and dialogue

Language teaching is an integral part of intercultural education. The Council of Europe's *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* puts forward policy approaches for promoting

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[38] Fishman, J. (2001): *Can threatened languages be saved?,* Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, p.469.

[39] Fishman, J. (2001): *Can threatened languages be saved?,* Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, p.466.

[40] Council of Europe (2000): Diversity and cohesion: *new challenges for the integration of immigrants and minorities,* Council of Europe Publishing, page 82.

intercultural dialogue (democratic governance of cultural diversity, democratic citizenship and participation, education etc)[41].

However, it has often been noted that migration gives rise to various forms of rejection and nationalist or community isolationism: it is therefore advisable to try to establish/restore this jeopardised dialogue through language teaching in order to facilitate the integration of those new arrivals who so desire. "[...] A successful integration process involves three main elements: adaptation by immigrants to the host society; adaptation by the host society to immigrants; and adequate communications strategies between the two populations and between each of them and governments. Implicit in the last is the need for an acceptable 'grammar' of rules and forms for communication and a mutuality of language for expressing ideas and meanings in order to prevent distortion of views and ideologies"[42]. The need to build cultural communication between groups in the host society and migrants has been stressed time and again and is one element of a package of measures for migrants.

For intercultural dialogue to be effective, the measures to promote it must be designed with integration in mind and in technical forms that do not lead to exclusion – unlike many types of cultural knowledge "testing" that have been made compulsory for adult migrants. Besides, these types of testing provide no evidence of how adult migrants have adapted to their new social and cultural environment.

On both sides, intercultural dialogue is established through a set of converging measures whose impact may be short- or long-term. As far as the host society is concerned, it would be advisable:

- to provide reliable and systematic information to all pupils in the national/regional school system (from their earliest years) on migrants' actual lives, their languages and their cultures of origin, making use of the multilingual and multicultural nature of many classes;

- to exercise vigilance regarding textbook images of migrants and their countries of origin;

- to create an ombudsman for the rights and responsibilities of resident immigrants;

- to prosecute any form of xenophobia;

- to have people available who speak the adult migrants' languages with a high degree of proficiency in order to facilitate mediation between communities and, in general, to train mediators who do not come solely from migrant communities;

- to promote the migrants' cultures and languages by all available means, starting with information free from clichés;

- to help immigrants become involved in existing areas of social involvement: neighbourhood committees, residents' committees, parent/teacher associations, consumer organisations etc;

As far as immigrants are concerned, it would be advisable:

- to give them, upon their arrival, information about the host society that they can understand (in various forms: DVDs watched communally to begin with; written documents), that is, information in their languages;

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[41] Published in 2008, www.coe.int/dialogue

[42] Salt, J. (2000): *Towards a migration management strategy,* Report of the restricted working group on a migration management strategy, Council of Europe, CDMG (2000) 11, page 10.

- to prepare this information by cutting down on the usual coverage of tourist aspects, outstanding achievements etc, so as to give an image that is undoubtedly positive but not mythologised, since the latter might unnecessarily produce feelings of inferiority or reactions of national pride;

- to prepare this information in association with established or naturalised immigrants in order to ascertain its impact on its intended audience and eliminate any elements likely to cause misunderstandings;

- to convey in courses a pluralist view of the host society's cultures and its current and historical identities but also to stress the centrality of the rule of law and the principles of democratic coexistence in accordance with the law;

- to create mixed groups in which citizens and migrants can meet and talk to each other, and where new arrivals, in particular, can mention their perplexity at certain aspects of social life in their new society and find explanations for what they have experienced;

- to make them aware of the idea of a changing, pluralist identity, when they may have a fixed, ethnic view of identity – just like "native" citizens, moreover;

- also to make them aware of the cultures of other groups of migrants in the country, who will be attending the same language courses.

The intention is thus to stress that preparation for life in a different cultural area cannot be reduced to encyclopaedia-type historical and geographical information and that it is up to educationalists to devise measures that can be used to influence attitudes so as to limit cultural misunderstandings.

Another approach to organising this cultural/intercultural training would be to design it not simply in terms of cultural knowledge but also in terms of cultural skills. K. Clarke reminds us that: "the notion of 'cultural competence' emerged in many educational institutions in the 1990s […] education tended towards creating sets of standards, or competences, which could measure and assess levels of vocational professionalism [and] a need was perceived to find tools to properly assess what constitutes cultural competence from both a professional and ethical perspective"[43].

Research into the nature of the "integration skills" in a new society that enable immigrants to behave effectively in the social sphere might well make use of existing proposals relating to intercultural skills in general[44]. These skills have, moreover, been covered by CEFR specifications (for "existential" competence[45]), but the latter are general. A skills typology of this kind, divided into the sundry stages of development of an intercultural personality (discovery, intercultural awareness, insertion and interpretative distance, integration, personal and public involvement, pluricultural identity etc), is provided in tools for training design[46]. These include an *Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters*[47] that is being developed to enable its users to reflect on their experience of other cultures. It is based on a

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[43] Clark, K. (2006): "The challenge of cultural competence in the Nordic welfare state: experiences and perspectives from Finland" in *Achieving social cohesion in a multicultural Europe – Concepts, situation and developments*, Trends in social cohesion No. 18, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, p. 145.

[44] See, for example, Byram, M. (1997), *Teaching and assessing intercultural competence*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

[45] CEFR, p. 9-10.

[46] Beacco, J-C. (2004)"Une proposition de référential pour les compétences culturelles dans les enseignements de langue", in Beacco, J-C. (ed): *Niveau B2 pour le français. Textes et références,* Paris, Didier, p. 251 et seq.

[47] A description is available online: www.coe.int/lang.

typology of the skills needed by any citizen or learner in this field: acknowledgement of the identity of others, respect for otherness, acceptance of ambiguity, empathy etc. Member states are urged to increase exchanges and cooperation on this matter.

4.2.8　Linguistic/cultural skills and access to citizenship

Legal citizenship (and sometimes residence as well) is granted to adult migrants (especially those from outside the European Union) on the basis of legal criteria that vary considerably from one state to another. They concern length of legal residence, respect for the law during this "trial" period and compliance with general requirements (compulsory schooling, payment of duties and taxes, etc). In addition to these provisions, there are often criteria relating to the assessment of how applicants for citizenship have integrated into the society in which they have been living for several years. This assessment of integration into society is based on facts such as involvement in community activities and knowledge of citizens' main rights and responsibilities. It also often includes a requirement for "basic knowledge" of the host society, its identity, history etc and of a/the official national/regional language. Proficiency in the latter must be deemed "appropriate" to the exercise of citizenship.

This linguistic and cultural assessment, which at first sight seems reasonable and legitimate, must be carried out cautiously if it is to foster social cohesion and the integration of immigrants, while it must be borne in mind that the obtaining of nationality is not the end point: it is another stage in a process of integration that will subsequently be pursued further and which should continue to be supported, in particular through cultural and educational measures and by combating discrimination. Ideally, it should come after a stage in which the migrants, who cannot yet exercise all the political rights associated with citizenship, are involved in the life of the community and committed to participating in it: for example, "political parties should encourage the participation of immigrants and minorities not only in elections, but also in the life of the party"[48]. Because education for democratic citizenship, for adult immigrants as for all other residents whether citizens or not, is designed, like other forms of education, as a process of lifelong learning. Access to citizenship is just one step, and it would be prejudicial to the objectives of integration simply to regard it as the final stage.

This is the general framework in which assessment of the "degree of integration" of applicants for nationality as a condition for obtaining it should be considered. It appears that the actual legitimacy of this "citizenship assessment" is problematic in terms of fairness, since residents who have acquired citizenship through the "normal" channels (nationality conferred by descent or acquired by birth on the territory of the state concerned) are not subject to such assessments or the risk of being deprived of citizenship in serious and very specific cases of failure to comply with existing laws.

Language requirements

When assessments are carried out in practice, tests are often found to be ineffective because they do not assess what they are supposed to assess. Social integration is often judged on mastery of a/the language of the host society, but there is no direct, proportional relationship between mastery of the language and a positive attitude towards that society: a person may be well integrated and yet have limited language proficiency. Assessment of the mastery of the language considered essential for exercise of citizenship is likely to be affected by other criteria such as accuracy, fluency, speaking without an accent, respecting the dominant sociolinguistic norms etc – all characteristics that in no way prevent native speakers, who do

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[48] Council of Europe (2000): *Diversity and cohesion: new challenges for the integration of immigrants and minorities*, Council of Europe Publishing, 7.10 Political participation, page 92.

necessarily respect these norms either, from acting as citizens. Such verification should above all demonstrate impartially that applicants for citizenship are able to communicate with a minimum degree of effectiveness. The lack of an adequate minimum level of communicative proficiency is probably to be found only in limited groups[49]. Such groups would appear to represent a concrete manifestation of the limitations of the language policies being pursued, and it would seem possible to identify them. Rather than refusing access to legal citizenship, it would doubtless be preferable to consider other forms of granting this citizenship, such as through a "citizenship contract" whereby a new citizen pledges to acquire the expected skills, after an appraisal analysis and with follow-up, by means of courses and activities in the public interest (voluntary service).

Cultural requirements

Whether applicants for citizenship have succeeded in becoming integrated is also often judged on whether they can demonstrate "knowledge" of the host society. However, this knowledge relates to a perception of national identity that is not necessarily shared by all citizens. Would it not be preferable to convey the historical dimension and political function of the concept of national identity rather than spread stereotypes that reduce diversity? At any rate, this knowledge in no way guarantees the adherence of those possessing it to the shared values underlying societal life in a given state, as enshrined in its constitution and legislation.

And if it is thought necessary to inform applicants for citizenship about what will be expected of them when they become fully-fledged citizens, it is then important to describe what is considered to be lawful and what is not and to ascertain that normal codes of behaviour have been properly understood, without turning their training into a course on constitutional or civil law with a university-type examination at the end. Individual interviews might prove more effective than the reproduction of encyclopaedic knowledge learnt by heart, especially as the very conception of citizenship tends to vary culturally within Europe[50].

Integration into the host society can be effectively ascertained only by considering the actual circumstances: it may be deemed successful if the "new" citizens have not committed any act entailing legal deprivation of acquired nationality and, above all, if they have become involved in community life as democratically active citizens. But this aim is relevant to all citizens, whether citizens by birth, by descent, by a legal decision or by any other channel.

It will be important to analyse the procedures for designing and administering the relevant tests and examinations in order to determine whether they are transparent, fair and reasonable, especially regarding the "knowledge" expected, in order to prevent their becoming a pretext for exclusion. This means avoiding, as far as possible, any form of mechanical test (such as multiple choice) in order to make the process an educative process. This might then required the organisation of (optional) preliminary consultations and citizen training for those who felt the need for it. However this may be, the "knowledge" expected should not be more than a citizen's average knowledge.

It would be useful to consider acquisition of citizenship not only from the legal angle but also as a further stage in the integration process: assessments of adult migrants' knowledge in this respect should be designed with this in mind. "Naturalisation secures, for once and for

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[49] For example, non-autonomous adults who, for their life in society, are dependent on others, or for immigrants who live within very homogenous resident communities where the host country's language (or one of its languages) is not generally spoken.

[50] Bîrzea, C (2005) Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies in Europe – A Synthesis, *All-European Study on Policies for Education for Democratic Citizenship*, Council of Europe Publishing, pp. 47-60

all, the legal status of immigrants and establishes complete equality before the law. Equally important is that naturalisation facilitates the development of a sense of belonging to the state and to society," [51] and consequently "part of an immigration policy must be a straightforward naturalisation policy, including a clear position on dual nationality"[52].

4.3 Conclusion

The principles governing integration policies for adult migrants have been clearly set out by the Council of Europe and have elicited a consensus. But, irrespective of how effectively they are implemented, it is essential that member states should reflect on them and exchange their experience of technical methods of implementing them. For they are not self-evident or necessarily "common sense" solutions because cultural stereotypes are so active and powerful. Nor are they the most economical solutions. Determining the most appropriate measures for language education polices for adult migrants in the light of contexts and resources therefore calls for greater cooperation between member states. For unless these measures produce the forms of integration that are desired by the host societies and by the migrants themselves and their states of origin, through the training of new plurilingual and pluricultural citizens (possibly with dual nationality) as part of a general education that is itself plurilingual and pluricultural, social cohesion may be jeopardised in the long run. This is illustrated by many European examples of breaches in the social consensus in certain migration communities.

General conclusion

Language is an essential aspect of the successful integration of adult migrants into a new society, for languages are a clear outward sign of difference – regardless of their role in language communication and human communication generally – and easily focus attention. It is important that member states base their language policies on the mutual rights and responsibilities of host societies, migrants and migrants' states of origin. The Council of Europe urges member states to strengthen their cooperation in this field by sharing their experience and practices and involving all stakeholders in the process of developing the relevant training: migrants (through their associations), teachers, educationalists and politicians.

While the principles underlying these integration measures now seem to be generally accepted and clarified, much still remains to be done in terms of their actual implementation. It is necessary to develop common management tools for such training and in particular:

- to gather available sociolinguistic data on migrants' languages as well as to identify and collect available information sources;

- to create reference tools to define training objectives (based on the principles of quality, transparency and fairness) using the CEFR;

- to create reference tools to identify adult migrants' language needs in order to define the linguistic objectives of vocational training, together with the objectives of cultural training and intercultural education;

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[51] Council of Europe (2000): *Diversity and cohesion: new challenges for the integration of immigrants and minorities*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, page 55.
[52] Council of Europe (2003): *Towards a migration management strategy*, Council of Europe Publishing, page 27.

- to devise guidance for the organisation of training and of assessments, tests and certification;

- to design initial and in-service training schemes for the teachers responsible for the relevant courses and certification.

These tools must be able to guarantee that training is effective and is not some kind of cheap concession to new arrivals. They should make it harder to deflect integration-oriented measures from their purpose. Languages constitute an essential area of human communication for democratic coexistence and would be seriously debased if their diversity were used as a pretext for turning them effectively into devices of exclusion.

Appendix: *Further Reading*

The following *Thematic Studies* and *Case Studies* were prepared for the Seminar on the Linguistic integration of adult migrants (26-27 June 2008). They are available online on the Language Policy Division website: www.coe.int/lang (Section 'Events' - Seminar Documents)

Thematic Studies

I.   Little, David: *The 'Common European Framework of Reference for Languages' and the development of policies for the integration of adult migrants*

II. Rossner, Richard: *Quality assurance in the provision of language education and training for adult migrants – Guidelines and options*

III. ALTE Authoring Group (Association of Language Testers in Europe): *Language tests for social cohesion and citizenship – an outline for policymakers*

IV. van Avermaet, Piet & Gysen, Sara: *Language learning, teaching and assessment and the integration of adult immigrants. The importance of needs analysis*

V.   Krumm, Hans-Jürgen & Plutzar, Verena: *Tailoring language provision and requirements to the needs and capacities of adult migrants*

Case Studies

I.   Little, David: *Responding to the language needs of adult refugees in Ireland: an alternative approach to teaching and assessment*

II. Adami, Hervé: *The role of literacy in the acculturation process of migrants,*

III. Plutzar, Verena & Ritter, Monika: *Language Learning in the Context of Migration and Integration – Challenges and Options for Adult Learners*

IV. Halewijn, Elwine; Houben, Annelies; De Niel, Heidi: *Education: Tailor-made or one-size-fits-all? A project commissioned by the Nederlandse Taalunie*

V.   Pulinx, Reinhilde: *Living together in diversity - Linguistic integration in Flanders*

Compilation of official Council of Europe texts

Integration of adult migrants and Education: *Extracts from Council of Europe Conventions and Recommendations and Resolutions of the Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers.* Document DGIV/EDU/LANG (2008) 4

Council of Europe Reference Instruments (www.coe.int/lang)

Council of Europe (2001): Common European Framework of Reference for languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR), CUP

See also:

Report of the Forum (Strasbourg, 8-10 February 2007): *"The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and the development of language policies: challenges and responsibilities"*

European Language Portfolio (ELP): www.coe.int/portfolio

Council of Europe (2006) *From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education: Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe,* J.C. Beacco & M. Byram

The *Guide* is accompanied by a series of Reference Studies